1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Brunoes, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

T [132] [137] T [191] T 609 648

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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Boruca

GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. *Diquis* is the older 103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Rio Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east. 162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five 361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory 175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

[p. 3-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

GEOGRAPHY

mixture. The next largest community is Palmar Norte, on the western bank of the Diquis River, at the start of the flood plain. This has a population of one hundred and seventeen Indians, but, unfortunately, many *ladinos* are seeping in due to its proximity to the farms of the United Fruit Company and the Costa Rican town of Puerto Cortés (formerly "El Pozo"). There is one other large village of Indians, Curré, on the western bank of the Río Grande. This is the northernmost settlement of the *Boruca*, and has one hundred and three inhabitants, and fourteen houses. The other sites might well be called by the Spanish term *aldeas* or hamlets. Lagarto, also on the western bank of the river, has fifteen Indians and three houses. The rest of the tribe is scattered in locations which should be classed as *ladino* towns, such as Maíz, which was once all Indian, but now has only twenty-six Indians, Puerto Cortés which has fourteen, and Buenos Aires which has seven, some of whom are not pure. According to the census taken by the school teachers in Boruca, there are about twenty-five Indians who live isolated in the forest, many on the banks of the Changuena River, making a total of six hundred and forty-one *Boruca* Indians in 1945.

HISTORY

a province on the Pacific coast which apparently extended from the territory of the *Quepos* Indians to the River Chiriquí Viejo in Panamá.[4] Around the year 1608, or a little earlier, Fray Alonso de la Calle went alone to the *palenques* or fortified houses of the *Boruca*, and succeeded in converting and pacifying them. Fray Alonso appears to have gathered some of these Indians and formed a town.[5] Certain it is that by 1649, there was a town known as Boruca,[6] and by 1666, the term *Boruca* had ceased to be associated only with the people of that name, but included

[4] See Peralta, 1900, pp. 82, 218; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 418.
[5] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 99.
[6] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 364.

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca.*[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[12] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" today. Here, various tribes, including the *Coto* were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the *Boruca*.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. As much as a year may pass without one going to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose their own culture and personality. The slow acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[8] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

[p. 4-B]

623 pendent to a certain extent upon what remains
[625] of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to
624 select the first and second mayordomos of the church, and the two women who are to cook for the church. These personages function during *fiestas* or the visits of the priest, and are appointed yearly. If there is a change in the personnel, the former mayordomo has to hand over all the religious symbols and whatever money there may be to the new one.

437 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.**
426 The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of
175 trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Texabas (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things."

[continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism.
796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

" See Informe, 1697.

Pittier[38] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*.

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*–2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of

[38] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

5;Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 ● 648

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

175 648 level lands of the great river *Estrella*,[14] where it joins the river *Coén*,[15] which comes down from *Cabécara*, and the *Arori*, which comes down from *Viceita*.

175 648 797 Its destruction, according to the copy referred to, was in the month of August of the tenth year of the last century, and at the end of it. In the year 1680, the conquest and subjection of the heathen Indians of that province was undertaken by the venerable servant of God, the Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, founder of this College, who had good results in his apostolic work, for in a few years he succeeded in teaching and baptizing so great a number of Indians that they already made up sixteen settlements. But at the end of 1709, those barbarous tribes rebelled, together with those who were taught, baptized and settled, and they killed two out of the three friars who were there. There were Fray Pablo de Rebullida and Fray Antonio de Zamora, and nine or ten of the soldiers who were in the garrison, together with a woman and a boy, burning the churches and profaning the sacred vessels and the furniture thereof. Yet by the orders and the measures taken by the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia or Captaincy-General of this Kingdom, assisted by the good conduct of the Governor of the Province of *Costa Rica*, who at that time was Don Lorenzo de la Granda Balbín, and the military officers who accompanied him, and the Rev. Padre Fray Antonio de Andrade, a disciple of this College, who was saved out of that insurrection, they were successful in penetrating into the mountains and cap-

[114] [14] Among the papers relating to the foundation of the city of *Santiago de Talamanca* it appears that it was founded upon the banks of the *Tarire*, eight leagues from its mouth. Fray Manuel Urcullu is not mistaken as regards the site, but he falls into the same error already noted in the other reports of the missionaries, of calling the *Tarire*, *Tiliri* or *Sixaola*, the *Estrella* river. The latter is the one now designated the *Chánguene* on some maps, *Changuinola* upon others and, finally, the *Tilorio* river. The latter is the real *Estrella* river, discovered and made known in 1564, by Juan Vázquez de Coronado. Its course, instead of running towards the coast of the Sea of the Antilles, as it does today, turned at nine and a half degrees of North latitude and continued towards the East in a line almost parallel to the said coast, until it emptied into the Bay of *Almirante*. The ancient channel of the river is well known by explorers, and in particular by Don José María Figueroa, who traced it upon the map of Costa Rica. Note by M. M. de Peralta.

[15] The river *Coén* is a tributary of the river *Tarire*.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

turing fifteen hundred Indians who had risen, with their *cacique*, and justice was done to the latter as well as to the others, and the holy vessels and the furnishings were recovered. As the rebels continued more insolent and were bound together in their disobedience and apostasy, the zeal of the said Reverend Padre Andrade and of the other friars who were under him could not re-establish this conquest and subjection; but now, extricated from the difficult and even impossible situation in which the enterprise then was, it should be restored to this College.

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648
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6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The southern littoral of this section is formed by the 131 133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few 131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail 133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail 487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUALIST]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 103 [101] [635] **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUALIST]

[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] See Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 **Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

● 175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued

[Text continues top of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.[15] It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez ● [175] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques es el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9–39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[83] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[84] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[85] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* [136] [133] [262] (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

● 175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[86] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan [797] fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial 174 documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribrí with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[83] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[84] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[85] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[86] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same [101] people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[R 12(B)]
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Cabecar

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vege-
[245] tables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
272 raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
434 sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
273 chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
231 (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
● [175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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372 [177] it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta Talamanca.

251 [243] **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are picked. [415] Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, however, [184] such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon [262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable [796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most [574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 [184] **House Types and Construction.** House types vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times 175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwelling 342 called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[14] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [15] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] [484] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] [484] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

● 175 342 [361] . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."